Human Events *A Weekly Analysis for the American Citizen*
Editorial Office 1323 M STREET, WASHINGTON 5, D. C. *Telephone* NATIONAL 2066
VOL. IV, NO. 46, *Issue Number* 198, NOVEMBER 12, 1947 * *Editors:* FELIX MORLEY & FRANK C. HANIGHEN

THE SOVIET PATTERN FOR CHINA

by William Henry Chamberlin

The necessity for the United States to come to some decision about its policy toward China is becoming steadily and inexorably clearer.

Lately there have been several straws in the wind in this connection. One was the forceful and well-publicized article of former Ambassador William C. Bullitt in Life, recommending a program of military and financial aid to the Chinese Nationalist Government at a cost of $1,350,000,000. Another straw is the growing Congressional interest in the suppressed report of General Albert C. Wedemeyer, who was stationed in China during and after the war and who was sent there on special mission by President Truman last summer.

Still another sign of urgency was the announcement by Under-Secretary of State Robert A. Lovett, late in October, that he did not know what America's China policy is. Now Secretary Marshall has just disclosed that the Administration will ask about $300,000,000 for a new program of aid for China.

In China, as in Europe, inaction would be a policy almost as decisively as action. A Soviet pattern is unfolding for China; less swiftly than for the smaller and more digestible countries of Eastern Europe, but no less plainly. This pattern may be briefly summarized as the exploitation of internal forces of revolt and division for purposes of over-all Soviet imperialist control.

Had there been no Soviet regime in Russia there would doubtless have been Labor and agrarian movements, both in Eastern Europe and in China, which would have led to evolutionary or even revolutionary change. But the harnessing of the indigenous Communists to Moscow's chariot has made it possible for the Soviet Government to extract rich dividends, in the shape of expansion of its international power and influence, from civil and social strife in neighboring countries.

A good deal of time has been wasted in a scholastic argument as to whether Soviet expansion is motivated by Russian nationalist or Communist internationalist ambitions. Actually the two forces are almost inextricably blended.

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The Soviet technique of expansion is seen in its simplest form in countries like Poland and Romania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Here military occupation by the Red Army facilitated the formation of governments which were nominally coalitions, but in which Communists with Moscow training invariably held key positions. The Communists utilized their control of the army and police to rig elections, to rid themselves of critics by purges and staged political trials, to transform the regimes into less and less disguised Communist police states.

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China was too big to permit the application of such a technique to the whole country at one time. Moreover, Soviet military and economic resources are not inexhaustible. An attempt to overrun the whole of China would have involved a serious risk of international complications.

From the American standpoint, the last-minute Soviet intervention in the war against Japan, which Roosevelt so fatuously purchased at Yalta, was politically undesirable. As a result the Red Army occupied Manchuria, one of the richest and most industrially developed regions of China. Before evacuating most of the Russian troops (a certain number remain in the Port Arthur region) the Soviet military authorities thoroughly looted Manchuria of industrial equipment, let the Communist armies into the area, equipped them lavishly with captured Japanese arms and equipment and turned over to them the civil administration of most of Manchuria.

This was only a continuation of the close relationship which has always existed between Moscow and the Chinese Communists. Lenin's theory that imperialism represented the last stage of capitalist development attracted his attention to the "seventy per cent of the inhabitants of the earth", mostly natives of Asia and Africa, who, as he reckoned, were objects of imperialist exploitation.

If the fortress of capitalism could not be taken by direct storm, by stimulating revolutions of the Russian type in advanced industrial countries, it might be reduced by a sapping operation in the form of uprisings in colonial countries. The Second Congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow in 1920, devoted special attention to working out plans for Communist activity in these countries. It called for "the closest possible union of the West European Communist proletariat with the revolutionary movement of the peasants of the East".

Very interesting, as an accurate preview of events to come, was the attitude prescribed for Communists in what were called colonial and semi-colonial countries, such as India and China, toward "bourgeois Democratic nationalist movements". Communists were instructed to

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support such movements, insofar as they were genuinely directed against foreign imperialist rule. But the Communists were never to fuse their organization with such movements; they were "to preserve unconditionally the independence of the proletarian movement, even in its most embryonic form". It was recognized that the revolution in the colonies would not be a Communist revolution "in its first stages".

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The Chinese Communist Party, which was organized as a branch of the Third International in May, 1922, faithfully followed these instructions. Its members joined the Chinese nationalist movement, the Kuomintang, and tried to dominate it from within. For a time the central executive committee of the Kuomintang was under strong Soviet and Communist influence. The nationalist revolutionary movement reached its high tide in 1927 and Michael Borodin, one of the shrewest and most supple of Russian foreign agents, assisted by a staff of Soviet military, financial and other technical advisers, fanned the flame of resentment against Great Britain and other foreign Powers which enjoyed extra-territorial privileges.

But Chiang Kai-shek led the movement to emancipate the Kuomintang from this Russian influence. The Communists were excluded from the Kuomintang. Relations between these two political groups varied from open and bitter warfare to precarious truce during the last twenty years. No permanent reconciliation proved feasible.

In September, 1937, after the Japanese had launched an all-out war on China, the Chinese Communists certainly announced a moderation of their political and economic policies, ostensibly designed to facilitate a united national front. But at the same time the Communist leader, Mao Tse-tung, was describing Communist policy, in a speech meant for Party members, as "70 per cent self-development, 20 per cent compromise with the Kuomintang and 10 per cent fighting the Japanese".

As the tide in the European war turned in Russia's favor, after the Stalingrad campaign, both the Chinese Communists and the official Soviet publications adopted an aggressively hostile tone toward Chiang Kai-shek. Statements in the Communist newspapers at Yenan (capital of the Communist territory in northwest China) called Chiang a despot and a dictator and were echoed in Pravda. A. Avarin, writing in the Soviet magazine, War and the Working Class, of December, 1944, accused the leaders of the Chinese Government of playing the role of Mikhailovich and suggested that Mao Tse-tung should be the Tito of China.

The United States never threw over Chiang Kai-shek, as it threw over the Polish government-in-exile and Mikhailovich. This was not for lack

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of prodding by sympathizers with the Chinese Communists inside and outside official circles. However, the American Government after the end of the war pursued in China a policy which has been tried in many countries and has always ended in failure. It endeavored to achieve collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communists.

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However desirable this objective might seem in theory, it could not be realized in practice, if only because of the fifth column aspect of Communism in all countries outside of Russia. Experience throughout Europe has shown that coalition governments, including Communists, lead ultimately to one of two results. Either the Communists take all effective power in their hands, or the non-Communist parties throw them out of the coalition, as in France and Italy.

At present, the Chinese Communists are working more havoc in their native country than the Japanese inflicted during their years of occupation. Tillman Durdin, veteran correspondent of the New York Times in China, recently visited Shantung Province, one of the main centers of Communist guerrilla activity and reported as follows on the consequences of civil war in that area:

> "The Communists have wrecked power plants, coal mines, railway stations, important buildings, hospitals and waterworks. . . . At Choutsun, seventy miles east of Tsinan, the Communists looted and burned the English Baptist Hospital, the only place that had facilities for surgical and medical cases in an area inhabited by nearly one million persons. In Taian . . . the American Methodist Hospital was destroyed and drugs and equipment were taken away."

The Chinese Communists are also reverting to more direct social revolutionary methods. They are wiping out landlords as a class.

Because few independent observers are able to travel in Communist territory and because the iron curtain has been slammed down most completely in areas of Soviet military occupation (the American consul in Dairen has been almost completely isolated from the outside world) it is hard to state with certainty how much Soviet aid is reaching the Chinese Red forces. That they have received much material from captured Japanese stores in Manchuria seems indisputable.

There are valid objections to large scale American commitments in China. The administrative record of the Chinese Government offers ground for criticism. But unless the Department of State is now devising practical means of counteracting the evolving Soviet pattern for China it may well turn out that we fought our great war in the Orient for Russia's benefit, rather than for China -- or for ourselves.

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Not Merely Gossip *A Supplement to* Human Events VOL. IV, NO. 46

By Frank C. Hanighen November 12, 1947

MacArthur's backers have been told by sympathetic Republican politicos that the General, if he wants the nomination, must publicly declare himself at least two to three months before the Convention. They warn that this year's Convention cannot be "blitzed" by a late comer, as was the case in 1940. These advisers present the following vade mecum for the General:

(1) He should make his final decision not later than Christmas.

(2) He should return to the United States on or about April 1, retire from the service and declare his candidacy.

(3) These steps should be followed by an extensive campaign during April and May, including a strong fight to win the Wisconsin primary in April.

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The results in last week's elections leave most political dopesters standing on their heads. It is difficult, indeed, to draw definite conclusions about the status of the two parties from such a box score. The Democrats lifted the loudest cheers, with their eyes fondly fixed on Kentucky; and no great exultation was heard from GOP headquarters. But that may only mean that the Democrats crave encouragement; or conversely that the Republicans are easily depressed.

If Democratic hopes are based on the Kentucky outcome, they would have to close their eyes to one trend noted by many observers -- the tendency of voters on November 4 to throw out the "ins", whether Democrats or Republicans. This hardly offers solace to an incumbent Administration. However, some observers believe that the Donkey has one fortifying morsel on which to chew.

Kentucky seems to offer the first evidence that the Taft-Hartley Act can be a liability to the GOP at the polls. The Republican victory in the by-election in the Pennsylvania 8th District last September removed this worry from the minds of Republican politicos. Kentucky has put it back. That state has an estimated 100,000 Labor union members; and about 40,000 are in the United Mine Workers. Now, in whatever direction other unionists swing, it is felt that John L. Lewis' followers rallied to their boss' campaign against supporters of the Taft-Hartley Act. The UMW, it is recalled, has a lot of members in other key states.

In any case, farseeing Republican observers are giving some serious thought to the Labor problem as it may affect GOP policy in 1948. They put it in this way. Two delegates will be sent to the Convention from each Congressional District, and four at-large from every state. In many Republican states and districts, the sitting Senator and/or Representative will be up for re-election next year. His toughest resistance will probably come from dissatisfied Labor organizations. These Members of Congress will be inclined to trim on a Labor program. Will they carry the Convention platform comittee with them? Or will that comittee stand foursquare behind the Taft-Hartley Act? And if the platform committee "weasels", what will the candidate do? Finally, can the candidate trim on such an important domestic issue? The prospect is not one to render happy those Republicans who peer anxiously into the crystal ball.

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A batch of White House gossip includes the forecast that Secretary of Agriculture Anderson will resign before many months have passed. The Secretary was none too happy over the whole Luckman policy with its "operation chicken" and other stunts. A conservative, Anderson has been jostled by rising New Deal forces around Truman. It is believed that he is pondering whether or not to run for the New Mexico Senate seat now occupied by Carl Hatch. The latter has been talking of

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retiring from the Senate, and is believed to be seeking a Cabinet post: either Anderson's or, more probably, that of Secretary of the Interior Krug.

Krug's star has waned rapidly in the past year, and there are signs that his resignation may be imminent. He has not had a brilliant record as Interior chief, and it is reported that he has suffered no little discomfort in connection with the Senate War Investigation. If Krug had been called to testify before that committee, instead of Howard Hughes, Senators Brewster and Ferguson might have emerged heroes instead of objects of ridicule. White House advisers prevailed on Krug to avoid appearing in the Senate show -- fearing that he would be smeared and that some matters best left alone would be aired by Ferguson and Brewster.

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Members of Congress who want to enact a tax reduction bill and at the same time to grant substantial aid to Europe believe that there is a practicable scheme to attain both these objectives which seem mutually exclusive. Congressman Wolcott, Chairman of the House Banking and Currency Comittee, reportedly gives favorable consideration to a plan for public sale of special "aid-to-Europe" bonds.

The new Government agency which presumably will be set up to administer aid to Europe would sell these bonds to the general public. They would be guaranteed by the Treasury, but could not be used by banks as legal reserves; otherwise they would have an inflationary effect. Indeed, one aim of the plan is to prevent intensification of the current inflationary trend. It is reasoned that consumers would invest some of their money in bonds, thereby spending less on goods. Also, as a result of funding a large part of the financial assistance to Europe, current expenditures for this purpose would be lower and consequently the budget surplus would be larger. Q.E.D. -- the way would be cleared for a tax slash.

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General Clay, American Military Governor in Germany, proceeds to dismantle not only war plants but also factories making non-war products. The American Military Government in a recent bulletin lists for dismantling 82 non-military plants under the categories of mechanical engineering, chemicals, shipbuilding, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, and power plants. Senator Bridges when he visited Germany recently strongly protested against this policy. But the tendency of the press and radio has been to play down such criticism. Therefore, Senator Taft in his speech before the Ohio Society of New York on November 10, performed a real service by emphasizing the importance of the problem saying: "We are still dismantling plants which could be made highly useful for the support of the German people. Any plant built for war purposes can certainly be converted to peace use. . . . Why don't they stop now the dismantling of German industries?"

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President Truman has received a very frank letter from King Ibn Saud, which has not yet been released to the press. Its language, according to our official informants, is "sorrowful" but "firm", and it came as a bombshell to the State Department which had expected a somewhat different attitude from Saudi Arabia.

The Arabian King warns the President that if American support of Palestine partition continues, American economic as well as political interests will be irreparably damaged in the whole Near East. Ibn Saud emphasizes that the Arabs will accept the challenge thrown down by the United States and will declare a "jehad" against Jews and their supporters in the Holy Land. With a colorful reference to mediaeval history, the King predicts that the Arabs will "lay siege" to the enclave of Jews and drive them from Palestine into the Mediterranean, as (he reminds Truman) did Saladin the Crusaders in the Middle Ages.

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The Arabian leader, of course, may well be bluffing. However, the letter has somewhat jarred the rather complacent attitude which the White House and State Department have taken of Ibn Saud's role in the present situation. These quarters have felt that Saudi Arabia depends too heavily on American oil royalties to prove intransigent in the partition settlement. This view has been challenged by some Government advisers who have insisted that Ibn Saud, despite the high value he places on the royalties, could be swept along by the rising tide of Pan-Arab feeling in the Near East. While the King of Arabia would want to keep the oil flowing, neighboring Arab governments might allow tribesmen to cut the pipe lines in their territories. In short, he might suffer even if he played a pacific role. The letter to the White House may indicate that the Arab leader is presently swayed towards the bellicose stand of his fellows in the Arab League.

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The Paris journal l'Intransigeant provided a one-day flurry with a story, purportedly "relayed from confidential sources in Russia to Prague", and thence to Paris. The yarn says that Russia is making atom bombs, albeit small in size; that the first atom bomb was exploded at a military and scientific demonstration on June 15 last; and that production takes place in a new industrial city called "Atomgrad", "deep in Siberia".

General Groves called the report a "pipe dream" and American scientists scoffed. The discussion, however, brought forth from Far Eastern experts an interesting observation. Even if scientifically and mechanically Russian progress in this field had reached such a stage of development, it is unlikely that an "atom bomb city" could rise and get under way without the knowledge of the Chinese Government. They point out that Nanking enjoys the best and fullest intelligence, not only on Siberia but on Russia in general, of any foreign intelligence service in the world. (British, American and other Western Powers confess to rather inadequate knowledge of what is actually going on in Russia.) The Chinese have little difficulty in sending agents into Siberia and they return with much information about Russia-in-Europe as well as Russia-in-Asia.

It seems that the Russian secret police, which has performed an excellent job of sealing the Russian frontiers in Europe, operates much less effectively in Siberia. Across that area's long border roam back and forth countless persons of the Mongolian race; and the Russian security forces have difficulty in distinguishing Chinese from Soviet Russia's own Mongolian subjects. The probability is that the Chinese Government agents would hardly fail to bring back news about the existence of anything as large as an atom bomb city "deep in Siberia". And Nanking knows of no such development.

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We choose the following letter (published in the letter column of the Washington Post), as the most devastating answer to the hypocritical concern about the "civil rights" of film writers: "The Washington Post, which never uttered a single editorial 'word of caution' regarding potential threats to 'civil rights' and 'freedom of expression' when the Ku Klux Klan and the Columbians were the targets of investigation and prosecution, repeats its past performance of manifesting a great and tender concern over 'threats' to these rights when Communists and 'fellow travellers' happen to be the targets of such actions.

"If you hold Communism to be a 'political belief', then what do you hold Klanism and Columbianism to be? If you hold that Communists should not be molested in holding and advocating their 'political beliefs', then why don't you also hold that Klansmen and Columbians are equally entitled to be unmolested in holding and advocating their 'political beliefs'? -- F. L. Freeman."

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Book Events

Europe Without Baedeker: Sketches among the Ruins of Italy, Greece and England, by Edmund Wilson. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., $4.00. Reviewed by J. M. Lalley.

Mr. Edmund Wilson, by vocation a literary critic, is nevertheless one of the two brilliant practitioners of a technique of reporting which is being developed quite independently of the newspapers, but will, I suspect, presently be imitated by them. Most of the pieces in this collection appeared originally in the New Yorker and were the fruits of a European tour made by Mr. Wilson, on assignment by that magazine, in the spring and summer of 1945. The method, apparently, is to combine an acute observation of fact with a considerable degree of philosophic interpretation. Obviously, such work is only for those who possess, besides training and skill, a sharp intelligence and a well-stocked memory. The other shining exponent of the art is Miss Rebecca West, whose reports, for the New Yorker, of the treason trials in England and the more recent lynching trial at Greenville, South Carolina, are probably the supreme individual achievement in contemporary journalism.

Mr. Wilson's dispatches, as brought together in this volume, are rather heterogeneous; they include, beside his account of what he saw or experienced in Britain, Italy and Greece, some critical excursions and interviews with various personages, such as Harold Laski and George Santayana, whom Mr. Wilson for one reason or another made a point of looking up. I suppose that after all such a book as this one does not differ essentially from the more intelligent and informative sort of old-fashioned travel journal; what qualified its contents as reporter's work was the brevity of the interval between writing and publication. When Mr. Wilson's pieces appeared in the New Yorker the conditions he described had an immediacy, or direct presence, which has now of course been lost: these sketches have become a purely historical record, though hardly less interesting because of that.

Mr. Wilson, for example, makes a great deal of the irritations and antagonisms existing in 1945 between the Americans and the British wherever both were present in large numbers. He discusses with great acumen the many historical, psychological and customary differences which served to aggravate these antagonisms, but he leaves us to conjecture whether they have since diminished or increased. Mr. Wilson is certainly at no pains to defend the British point of view in these matters; indeed his dislike of the British upper classes is everywhere evident. All the same he makes it plain enough that many of the American G.Is. and their officers were not very persuasive representatives of our national virtues. He mentions among other things the assaults on women and the pocketbook snatchings in the blackouts in England, the shaking down of prostitutes by the American M.Ps. at Naples, the holdups and murders perpetrated in Rome by a gang of American deserters. The theme, however, that Mr. Wilson chooses to emphasize, is the spirit of indifference to all purely human values encouraged by the character of the war and of the official propaganda and the suppressed sense of guilt that accompanied it. "Our whole world", he observes sadly, "is poisoned now, and we must recognize that the outlawing of the enemy makes it easy to dislike one's Allies."

In Crete Mr. Wilson found a text of the then popular farce-thriller, Arsenic and Old Lace, and in reading it was astonished to discover in it a perfect allegory of the times. The murderous maniac, and the demoralized doctor who does his will, represent Germany; the two amiable old ladies, who do a little murdering on their own account with the best and most upright motives are of course Britain and the United States, and their mad brother, who believes himself to be Teddy Roosevelt, is the incurable romantic, Winston Churchill; and the policeman who wants to write plays and is oblivious to the criminal melodrama surrounding him represents contemporary literature, which, it seems, is "incapable of catching up with reality".

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